823 for advice. The tragedy is that subsequent events were unpredictable. When
[731] the blast came it was so swift that there could only have been two or three minutes' warning, and the phenomenon was so far beyond experience or imagination that the people were too numbed to panic. Good order was maintained and the refugees successfully assembled in camps in a remarkably short while. Within two days camps were operating and supplied by air.

823 As the people settled and began to take stock of events, they began to seek for
731 explanations. An aeroplane had been flying close to the mountain at the time of the blast, escaping in the nick of time. One rumour had it that this aeroplane had
[784] dropped a bomb. Most explanations were, however, religious in nature. Some people said that this was God's visitation because they had disobeyed the Bishop's instructions to build new churches. Others said that God had punished them because they had not helped the Allies sufficiently during the war and because some of them had betrayed missionaries to the Japanese. By April most of these specific rumours
[783] had been countered. There remained, nevertheless, an almost universal belief that God had punished the people for their sins, and these sins were enumerated in general terms, such as lack of co-operation in Mission and Government plans for development. This sense of guilt is a most important factor in resettlement attitudes.

731 Another factor affecting resettlement attitudes was the speed, scale and nature of the relief measures. The war-time miracle—the rapid mobilization of resources—was repeated by the European, not for purposes of destruction but for the help of the Papuan people themselves. Once again the people asked themselves how the European was able to do this; and they were grateful that their need had been met.

Relief was not only provided in the form of rations and building sites where the people erected humpies for temporary shelter. Medical services in the camps were directed not so much towards the healing of the wounded, for few of these had survived, so much as towards the maintenance and improvement of general health. The Higaturu Hospital was completely destroyed, but excellent field dispensaries were set up at Oro Bay, Popondetta and Ilimo. At Ilimo there was also a baby welfare clinic, staffed by two European nurses and Papuan assistants. In a few weeks the Ilimo dispensary and clinic had established itself as a popular institution, serving the needs of surrounding villages as well as of the camp. The large numbers treated bore ample testimony to the scale of medical need in the district and the regularity of out-patient attendance was notable.

[873] The Government maintained a technical training school at Higaturu, and the Anglican Mission had an advanced school at Sangara. Both of these were destroyed with almost complete loss of staff and pupils, many of whom were almost ready for graduation. Immediate relief measures could do little to replace this critical loss. But the Mission, with Government assistance, recommenced village-level schools in the camps. At Ilimo particularly the Government started adult education classes, partly to provide something useful for the people in their leisure hours, but mainly

871 until the end of Standard 4, but that schooling beyond that level
797 is taken by a far smaller number. A great many mission schools teach only up to Standard 4, so that those who wish to proceed further have to attend a boarding establishment.

872 Sivepa was fortunate in that the nearby Sasembata mission
877 school conducted classes to the end of Standard 6. This was a comparatively recent development; when the school was reopened after the eruption, it still went no further than Standard 4. Most pupils will stay at the local school for the full programme, but some who fail the examinations at the end of Standard 5 drop out. Sasembata School has boarding facilities for students from other mission schools who have to leave home to get education after Standard 4. These are accommodated in dormitories built of bush materials on the mission station.

872 Inonda was less favourably placed. A school opened at Sivepa in 1952 by a Seva mission teacher displaced by the eruption, was closed down in 1959. Today, the nearest school, at Hohota, three miles away, teaches only up to Standard 2. Anyone proceeding beyond that level had to board at Popondetta for further schooling. In 1967, there was one Inonda boy receiving education in Standard 4 at the Popondetta primary school. There were no children at Inonda who had left school at Standard 2 and were hanging about at home; it will be interesting to know how many of the seven children at present in Standard 2 will go to Popondetta next year.

873 Post-primary schooling is available at four institutions in the Northern District (two government, two mission) with a total attendance of 719, but neither Sivepa nor Inonda had students there in 1966-67. At levels above Standard 4, the education system tends to become increasingly selective, with tough examinations to reduce the number of those who take up boarding places at secondary school facilities. External examinations are set for students completing Form II (i.e., Standard 9), Form III and Form IV. For the most successful, university and other advanced training is available; those who have completed
[874] Standard 7 or higher can enter teacher training schools. Two of the post-primary schools in the Northern District are technical schools which train apprentices. Training for nurses is not yet available in the district, except with the mission, which issues no diplomas.

871 Education in most of the Northern District is not yet compulsory, even though legislation exists to enable the government to declare school attendance compulsory in specified areas. Popondetta has been declared an area of compulsory education. It is true, as the government claims, that even where schooling is voluntary, virtually all children enroll and attend from the age of five. The length of attendance depends on the type of education available in various areas; thus, it would generally be longer in Sivepa than in Inonda.

The curriculum, both in the government and mission schools, is very highly standardised and mission education is of necessity dominated by the need to prepare students for government examinations.

training schools which prepared students for examinations for these certificates.

Though many men with teacher's certificates and advanced medical training take up positions with the government, where salaries are far higher, there is still a considerable inflow of qualified Papuans into the mission ranks. One reason for this may perhaps be found in the sketch I gave earlier in this chapter of a typical mission station settlement. The educated man who takes up a job with the mission receives his reward, not only in the satisfaction of religious service and the approbation of the mission towards which he is usually obliged for his education, but also an assured social status in a community in which he can feel thoroughly at home and can set up the type of social relationships to which he is accustomed. A government position on the other hand tends to isolate and detribalise teachers and hospital workers and thus be less satisfying socially.

Finally, it should be stressed that the mission is responsible for the education of Papua's educational élite. Martyrs School, once built at Sangara where it was destroyed by the eruption, and now established just outside Agenahambo, prides itself on a higher academic standard than any of the other secondary schools of the Northern District. It is able to choose the most proficient of the products of the primary school system, not only in the Northern District, but in the whole of Papua. One man in Sivepe and one in Inonda had been to this school but neither had continued to the secondary Forms. But the church-educated élite will dominate the Northern District for some years to come, until the graduates from the new University of Papua New Guinea will take over this status.

a village as small as Sivepe, statistical samples will sometimes show freakish features of which the sociological significance should not be overestimated.

Nine of the 12 labour migrants came from two of the families, namely the family of the village constable and that of the man who was councillor for Sivepe over the years following 1956. The other migrants came from three further Jegase families. The reason for all these movements was, of course, the absence of employment opportunities close to Sivepe. One absentee from Sivepe was a boy of the Seho clan who was at a secondary boarding school (Martyr's school, at Agenahambo).

Dissension was the reason for both the major migratory movements into Sivepe. The two Jegase families who came to Sivepe around 1956 were originally residents of a hamlet near Binduta called Korinasusu. All the other families of Korinasusu belonged to a different clan (Usohu). Conflicts between the groups arose; one Jegase man felt sure that deaths in his family were caused by Usohu sorcery and left. Another Jegase man was then accused of sorcery against Usohu and decided it would be wiser if he left too. At one time, such families might have set up a separate hamlet, but the government pressure towards consolidated villages led to their settlement at Sivepe, where there were a number of other Jegase families.

I was not able to reconstruct precisely what led to the Sorovi migration. Two of the men who settled in Sivepe were brothers of the Garombi feast leader and the other men were linked with these two by affinity or close friendship, as well as common clan membership. It is a general principle of Orokaiva family structure that the oldest brother in any family has absolute control over the family land and other family assets; he takes the place of the father. There is no sort of appeal against his decisions. He has the duty to "look after" his younger brothers and see that they prosper. If he fails in this task, the younger brothers have only one recourse; namely, to leave. In practice, the oldest brother is often compelled to divide up the patri-money when such a split-up occurs. Certainly this is what happened in the present case. The younger brothers renounced their elder's protection and started out on their own. Again, due to government pressure, they joined an existing village rather than starting a new one, as they might once have preferred.

Sivepe was chosen for several reasons. One of them undoubtedly was the link that existed through the three women from Ajoro who had been captured and taken to wives by men from Garombi and Sivepe. The descendants of these men regarded themselves as bound by common ancestry, because the three Ajoro women were regarded as being closely related (nobody could say how, but the fact that they came from the same village was said to be sufficient). This was a link between Sorovi and one lineage of Jegase; there were also specific links with a Seho lineage. Furthermore, as was often emphsised to me, there were links of hereditary friendship. Also, the families had land very close to Sivepe.